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ORATION

DELIVERED AT THE

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN CELEBRATION

OF THE

SIXTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JULY FOURTH, 1840,

At the Methodist Episcopal Church, Greene-street, in the City of New-York,

BY THE HON. SAMUEL YOUNG.

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ORATION.

WE are informed, by the highest authority, that after man's creation dominion was given to him not only over the vegetable kingdom, but also over the animal tribes. The earth with all its appendages was likewise devoted to his use. But the ample control which was bestowed upon him over both organic and inorganic matter has never been found sufficient to satiate that unchastened lust of power, which frequently finds a lodgment in the human heart. And the perpetuated annals of our race, as well as continued observation, instructs us that individuals are found in every age, and in every clime and country, whose exertions are devoted, either openly or covertly, by force or by fraud, to obtain dominion also over their equals and fellow creatures. The struggle of the few to control the rights and to appropriate the toil of the many—the exactions of governments upon the governed—and the aggressions of the strong upon the weak have, from the remotest periods of antiquity, converted the surface of the inhabited parts of the earth into a vast arena of tears and of blood.

So successful has ever been this wide and desolating war of rapacity upon human rights, that with rare and transitory exceptions, the sun, in his diurnal rounds, for thousands of years, has shined only on the palaces of tyrants and the graves of the oppressed.

Stimulated by this rapacious spirit of domination, the rulers of Great Britain, by a long course of usurpation and tyranny, finally impelled our fathers to invoke the God of battles; first promulgating to the world that solemn appeal to human reason and to the principles of eternal justice, which is embodied in the impressive Declaration of Independence, which we have just heard read, and whose sixty-fourth anniversary we have assembled to commemorate.

The soul-stirring incidents of the protracted struggle for Independence, the toils, the sufferings, the sacrifices, the stern virtues, and indomitable courage of the heroes of the Revolution, have often been the glowing theme of the historian, the orator, and the poet. The attempt, on the present occasion, of him to whom the honor of addressing you has been committed, to give a more vivid coloring or to add a new interest to events which have been so often portrayed in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," would be a mistaken and abortive effort.

But it may perhaps be useful to indulge in a few brief commentaries upon some of the prominent principles, the "self-evident truths" which are solemnly proclaimed in the Testament of Liberty which was written, and signed, and sent forth by our fathers at the imminent peril of their lives; and to enquire whether, amongst us, these momentous principles have uniformly received, down to the present period, not only the theoretical, but also the practical assent of mankind.

"We hold these truths" said they, "to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

When man is considered in his social relations, this short extract will be found to contain a perfect compendium of human rights, and also an exact epitome of all the legitimate functions, powers and duty of human government.

The declaration that "all men are created equal," is only affirming in other words the doctrine of Holy Writ, that God of one flesh has made all the children of men. And a perfect equality among mankind of legal, social, civic and political privileges, is the necessary result of this identity of rights and of origin. By this rule of perfect equality every legal enactment should be measured, and if it will not bear this test, it should be condemned and abrogated; for to the same extent that it contravenes this standard, it is fraught with injustice, oppression, and outrage.—The application of this test to the legislation of every age and country will exhibit a vast and continual sacrifice of human rights to the mercenary exactions and the capricious ebullitions of power.

If the human race from the beginning, had been secure in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property; or in other words, if no portion of mankind had ever manifested a disposition to perpetrate violence, fraud and crime, human government would never have been organized. An honest and virtuous community, surrounded by communities of the same description, would spontaneously perform every necessary function which is required by the social state, exempt from all the exactions and sacrifices which are imposed by the artificial and expensive machinery of government.

Protection to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" embraces all the good that the most perfect government can bestow. The want of this protection is the sole cause of the institution of government; and in the same degree that it deviates from this end, and applies its powers to other objects it degenerates into an evil

instead of being a blessing. In proportion as it abandons its proper functions, and directs its energies to extraneous objects, it becomes a sword instead of a shield.

Recurrence should frequently be had, by every citizen, to the simple and fundamental principles that all men are created equal; and that they therefore possess a perfect identity and equality of rights; and that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men for the sole purpose of protection.

These principles possess the virtues of Ithuriel's spear. And an application of them to existing laws and institutions will always produce an instant exhibition of the hateful magnitude and enormity of the demon of human power.

Without the shield of government and the protection of law, human rights would be insecure. Nor is the condition of that community to be less deprecated in which the law itself affords countenance and support to the aggressor.

It is a fact, exemplified by all history, that human power is ever at war with its boundaries, and that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Where the fundamental principles of government are repugnant to the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal;"—where wealth and power and honor are hereditary, and transmissible from generation to generation, it is not strange that the possessor of these exclusive privileges should finally come to think that he and his family are a higher order of beings, and possess better blood than the mass of mankind. It is not surprising that he should become conservative,—should cling to the abuses of government, and resist every attempt to ameliorate the condition of the multitude. He is conscious that while the frame of government is unchanged, his children and their descendants will enjoy a superi-

ority over the mass of mankind. And the pampered selfishness of the human heart, is ever ready to grasp wealth without toil, honor without merit, and power without virtue.

But under institutions which like ours exclude all titles of nobility and hereditary rank:—which utterly forbid primogeniture and entailments, and which are based upon the immutable truth that all men are created equal, and have an indubitable right to a community of privileges, it would appear to a reflecting mind a matter of astonishment that any advocates can be found for unequal laws and exclusive privileges;—for laws and privileges which are calculated and designed to bestow wealth upon the rich, and to inflict privation upon the poor; in short, to benefit the few, at the expense of the many.

One of the first truths which we are taught to believe is, that the whole family of man, the thousand millions of human beings which swarm upon the earth's surface, derive their origin from a single pair. The fecundity of the human race under institutions comparatively free is strongly exemplified on this continent. But so heavy is the hand of power upon human liberty, and the exactions of government upon the means of subsistence in the old world, that the political economists of Europe designate five hundred years as the period for the duplication of its inhabitants; whilst in many parts of the United States it is known that the population has doubled in a quarter of a century, and even less.

Let the advocate of unequal and monopolizing laws, forget himself if possible, for a moment, and extend his contemplations into the future. Let him estimate the ever growing numbers of human beings who will necessarily be the victims of the injustice of government.—Perhaps he has children. If he has a family, figures which never deceive nor equivocate, will demonstrate to him, that on the assumption of a duplication in twenty-

five years, his blood will soon flow in the veins of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and finally of millions of human beings, in the lapse of a few rapid centuries.— By the aid of imagination let him convoke these millions into his presence, and contemplate the actual condition which reason informs him they will occupy. And by a mental effort let him transfer himself into the situation of his descendants, and he will then be able to form some estimate of the amount of poverty, wretchedness, ignorance and crime which will meet his vision in the aggregated multitudes before him, and which to the extent of his agency in the enactment of unjust laws, is the infliction of his own hands. He will be able in some measure also to calculate how much the mountain of human misery is augmented by the practical abnegation of the eternal truth, that all men, being created equal, are consequently entitled to the enjoyment of equal laws.

For him who has studied the history of man, and examined the elements of human society, the light of the past throws its rays into the future. The wreck of fortunes, the dilapidation of affluent families, and the sudden transitions from riches to poverty, have chequered the annals of every age; and have become too prevalent in modern times to elude the observation of any. And it is impossible to doubt but that such visitations will frequently be the lot of our race in futurè. He therefore who lends his aid towards the establishment of unequal laws, and exclusive privileges, is obnoxious, like others, to the vicissitudes of fortune; and may find himself suddenly stripped of his possessions and blighted in his hopes, and in a state of wretchedness and poverty may deplore the load of exclusion and injustice which then oppresses him, and which he himself had helped to impose.

And if the advocate for inequality is insensible to the dictates of patriotism, and the obvious claims of justice; if he regards with heartless apathy the future lot of his

own children and descendents; if he is callous to the sufferings, and deaf to the execrations of countless future generations; or if he is so cold and concentrated as to be unable to extend his conceptions beyond the mean and narrow circle of selfishness, yet even egotism itself will teach him if he will reason, that, when the contingencies of human life are duly considered, the balance of probabilities in favor of his own permanent success, is on the side of that perfect equality of rights, which, like the light of heaven, is indiscriminately dispensed to all.

But strange as it may appear, neither reason, nor justice, nor patriotism, nor love of offspring, nor even chastened self love, is found sufficient to restrain a portion of mankind from endeavoring to pervert the laws and institutions of society to their own temporary aggrandisement, and to the permanent oppression of the mass of their fellow creatures. Such has ever been the case in all the governments of the world, where human passions were not subdued into silence by the iron sway of absolute despotism.

In proportion as freedom exists, the workings of ambition, and the aspirations for power, for wealth, and for distinction are developed. And to satiate these desires, the detestable maxim that "the means justifies the end," finds too often a practical illustration.

It is doubtless for wise purposes that good and evil are intimately blended in the affairs of human life. Where industry is dormant, nutritious plants are choked by noxious weeds. And whilst vigilance reposes, corrupt principles germinate, and spread with luxuriant growth. This ordinance of the great Creator was doubtless designed to call into exercise the latent energies of man; to arouse his faculties, to exercise his powers, and to stimulate into full developement both his mental and physical attributes. The very tenure of man's existence is watchfulness and industry. So God has ordained.

In a government organized like ours with the right of suffrage in the hands of every citizen, the aristocratic few could never accomplish their unjust purposes without a resort to disguise and deception. Open and palpable attacks upon the rights of the many would at once be resisted and repelled. And it is only by fraud, by perversion, and falsehood, and by appeals to the passions instead of the understanding, that the aspiring demagogue and voracious monopolist can hope to succeed. And hence the vast importance of the general diffusion of sound principles and correct information. Hence the responsibility which rests upon every citizen who feels within his bosom the impulse of patriotism, who desires to enjoy and to transmit unimpaired the blessings of civil liberty, carefully to investigate and rightly to understand the legitimate duties and functions of human government. He will thus be enabled at all times to apply an unerring test to the exercise of power, and if it is an encroachment, to unmask the cheat, and to detect the impostor.

Every action of government which has an influence upon human affairs is reducible to ascertained principles. There is indeed nothing in the physical, or even the metaphysical world, but what feels the impress, and obeys the direction of the Creator's laws. No interregnum can be found in the works of creation. Nothing has been left by the great and wise Architect to the caprice of chance, or the sport of contingency. Cause and effect pervade and govern all.

The monetary laws, the laws of trade, and indeed all the laws which appertain to national, civic and social intercommunication among men, are as determinate and fixed in their general results, as the laws of light, heat and gravitation. If the various elements which enter into problems in political economy were fully and justly appreciated, the result in all cases could be as accurately ascertained as in mathematical science. Why is it that

there are no factions nor party spirit amongst the devotees of mathematics? Simply because a knowledge of the power of numbers enables the possessor to put all cavil at defiance, by an exhibition of truth in the clearness of demonstration. And if the legitimate principles of government, and the effect of the exercise of its powers upon the affairs of life, were accurately understood by all, there would, for the same reason, be no parties in politics. And the demagogue might then exclaim in the language of the great poet of nature, "Othello's occupation's gone!" It is upon the supposed ignorance, credulity and gullibility of the community that the treacherous demagogue builds his whole hopes of success.

How inappreciable then is knowledge in all the complicated relations of human life. And how impressive the obligation upon every individual, not only to inform himself correctly upon every topic which has an influence upon his welfare, but to diffuse, as far as possible, the blessings of education and the light of science; and earnestly to inculcate the momentous truth that the only sure basis of free institutions is knowledge and virtue.

It was for the want of this basis that the ancient democracies (if so they may be called,) lost the popular control and crumbled into ruins. An ignorant and illiterate multitude, under the guidance of passion instead of reason, ever have been, and ever will be, an easy prey to the machinations of the aspiring few. By artfully diffusing amongst such a populace the germs of jealousy, fear, hatred, cupidity and ambition, they are broken into hostile fragments, and exhaust their energies in mutual destruction. Such has been the fate of all former attempts to maintain popular government. Brief and tempestuous were the periods of their duration. And if the demagogues of ancient times had possessed the malign ingenuity of devising an expanding and contracting circulating medium under the treacherous guise of a "credit system,"

the ignorant mass would have been the more easily corrupted, the fitful days of popular sway would have been rendered still more compendious, and the night of despotism accelerated.

Having briefly alluded to the fundamental principles of government, and the equal and inalienable rights of all men to the enjoyment of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which rights and principles were solemnly proclaimed by our fathers as "self-evident truths," a hasty retrospection of our political history, and a few remarks on the times in which we live, will perhaps not be amiss.

The spirit of aristocracy which has always been found in every government where human freedom was not wholly suppressed, gave strong manifestations of its existence even in the very organization of ours. And under various disguises and a variety of names, it has been perpetuated to the present day. In the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, a strenuous effort was made to create a President and Senate for life, and to assimilate the government as nearly as possible to a monarchy. In violation of the "self-evident truth" that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," it was insisted that it ought to be placed above the popular control, and that it should possess sufficient strength to repress what was denominated "the turbulence of Democracy."

Notwithstanding the oppressions which the British government habitually practised upon its subjects; its sinecures, its extravagance, its debts, its monopolies, its exactions, its meretricious connexion of church and state, and its close alliance with an overshadowing monied power of its own creation;—notwithstanding the atrocious usurpations and cruelties which it had perpetrated upon its American Colonies; cruelties, which had caused the sword to leap from its scabbard, and the lives of thousands to be sacrificed: Yet this very government

with its blood-stained hands, with all its imperfections on its head, was earnestly urged as a model for ours; and it was boldly pronounced to be "the greatest effort of human invention."

But the zealous efforts of the aristocratic few in the Convention were defeated. The highest Executive and legislative officers were made elective and responsible to the people. No power to create a religious establishment was granted; and an express inhibition against the exercise of such power was afterwards adopted in an amendment to the Constitution.

And although three distinct attempts, in various forms, were made, as appears by the now published records of the convention, to bestow the power of creating a National Bank (one of the attempts in the broad language of granting the power generally to create corporations,) yet these several propositions were repelled by a strong and indignant vote. The recollection of the curse of a depreciated and rotten paper currency under the name of Continental money, which had reduced thousands to beggary, was too vivid to tolerate for a moment the bestowment of the power of reiterating this bitter infliction. And to prevent as far as possible all future attempts to torture and extort powers by implication, on this or any other subject, it was ordained that all powers not expressly granted, were reserved to the people and the States.

The constitution which was formed, together with its subsequent amendments, embodied sounder principles of freedom, and greater safeguards to human liberty than any social compact which had ever been devised by the wit of man: And, moreover, it required of all public functionaries a solemn asseveration before the Supreme Being to observe its provisions.

But principles, and written compacts, and obligations and oaths, are but feeble barriers against the aggressive

encroachments of cupidity and ambition. The formation of a constitution ever so wise and just in its principles, instead of affording permanent security, is but the incipient step to the enjoyment of equal rights. And the continuous history of all preceding times affords to man the solemn and impressive admonition to eternal vigilance; and that he must continually work out his liberty, like his salvation, with fear and trembling.

During the first administration under the present constitution, General Alexander Hamilton, who was the prime spirit of the aristocratic party in the convention, had the address to procure the incorporation of a National Bank, in defiance of the constitution, and against the most strenuous opposition of the Author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson was the founder and leader of the Republican, and Hamilton of the Aristocratic, or self-styled Federal party: And the principles of these leaders, as exemplified in their acts, and recorded in their writings, will ever, while the Republic endures, form an accurate political test, both of measures and of men.—Without a sincere and practical belief in the fundamental principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, every profession of Republicanism is hollow and hypocritical: And hostility to monopolies which destroy equality of rights, and to the creation of a public debt, which always imposes unequal and heavy burdens upon the many, and opposition also to the extension of the power of government beyond its legitimate boundaries, are clear deductions from these principles.

During the first and second administrations, the Aristocratic party exerted themselves to give to the government and its functionaries the pomp and show, and circumstance of royalty. But it was under General Washington's successor that the greatest scope was given to the exhibition of the true characteristics of federalism. To overawe and subdue the people into submission,

black-cockades were mounted, the alien and sedition laws enacted, and rigorously enforced; and the bitterness and persecution which were inflicted upon all who dared to question any of the acts of government, caused that gloomy period to be emphatically denominated "the reign of terror."

And here, it is hoped that it may not be deemed improper, to enquire what course the present Federal candidate for the Presidency pursued in those gloomy days of federal sin, and democratic suffering. Then in the vigor and ardor of generous youth, when patriotic sympathies are spontaneously aroused, did he fold his arms in apathetic indifference and take no part in the struggles of his country against the outrages of power? Or, did he even sanction those outrages by quietly enjoying the emoluments of office under the elder Adams?

He has recently given a response to this question, and admitted that the termination of "the reign of terror" left him an official incumbent. And now in the decline of years, the American people are clamorously urged to place him in the Presidential chair, as the guardian of their rights; and to believe that his second juvenility is more patriotic than the first.

During "the reign of terror" the aristocratic party claimed to possess all the wealth, all the talents, and all the religion; and they stigmatized their political opponents with the most contumelious abuse. They used the word democrat to designate whatever was low, and base, and opprobrious; and applied this epithet unsparingly to the republican party. The mass of the people was designated as the "swinish multitude." The terms "trogglodite" and "cattle" were not then embraced by the lore, nor contained in the vocabulary of federalism.

A contempt for the intelligence of the great body of the people, and an ardent veneration for irresponsible power, have ever been the characteristics of the aristo-

cratic party. Hence that department of government which is placed at the greatest distance from the popular control; to wit, the Supreme Court of the United States, has ever been the theme of unqualified eulogy. And the decisions of that tribunal which have been the most favorable to monopolies, to the suppression of State rights, and the creation of an absorbing central power, have received from the Federal party, at all times, the most unqualified applause.

Although the high-handed measures of "the reign of terror" produced a prostration of federalism in 1801; yet its spirit, although discomfited, was not subdued.—The vile slanders and abuse uttered against Mr. Jefferson and all his measures during the eight years of his administration by the party who now affect to revere his name, and to admire his principles, ought never to be forgotten.

The aggressions of Great Britain on the ocean, both on the persons and property of our citizens, her orders in council, and the impressment of our seamen, found constant apologists in the Federal leaders. The determined opposition of this party to the second war of Independence, the hostility to enlistments, and to every aid to our government, the mortification at our successes, shamefully uttered in the sentiment, that it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at victories obtained in an unjust war; the burning of blue, nocturnal lights upon our coast as signals to the enemies' ships, and the organization of the notorious Hartford Convention, are indelibly stamped in burning characters upon the forehead of federalism.

So utterly humbled and disgraced was this faction by the glorious termination of the war, that they professed an utter dissolution of their party organization, and an abandonment of the name of federalists; and to the latter they have adhered. But the same party have maintained a fraternity of feeling, and kept up an efficient organiza-

tion under various names and disguises to the present day. They have always claimed and exercised the privilege not only of changing their party appellation as often as they chose, but also of bestowing names upon their opponents.

By way of stigma they have successively denominated the republican party as "Democrats," "Bucktails," "Pewter-mug politicians," and "Locofocos;" and to themselves they have in turn assumed the cognomen of "Federalists," "Peace Party," "National Republicans," "Whigs," "Democratic Whigs," and "Log Cabin" party. They appear to assume it as an established fact that the great mass of the community are so destitute of reasoning powers and intelligence, that mere names possess a potent influence. Apparently in pursuance of this assumption a respectable gentleman of this city of the old federal school, (if newspaper history is to be credited,) dug up, a few years since, from among the mouldering records of the Revolution the once venerated name of Whig; and with great originality of conception he proposed to baptise the party to which he belonged, with this appellation; and the whole party quietly submitted to the political ordinance.

Federalism having been so signally rebuked and prostrated in former times by public sentiment, is now cautious in openly expressing its contempt for the popular intelligence. It no longer boldly designates the laboring classes as "the swinish multitude;" but if actions are a true index to the thoughts of the heart, it now mentally and practically pronounces them to be of this description.

The appliances of modern whiggery in the existing presidential contest, speak a language which cannot be misunderstood. And intelligent foreigners who come among us, and who are informed that a great political party is striving to secure the suffrages of the community, for a chief magistrate of the Republic, by erecting log cabins, by largesses of hard cider and other intoxi-

eating drinks, by the display of raccoon skins and roasted oxen, and by deafening exclamations of "Old Tip," and "Ty," would at once come to the conclusion, either that the leaders of this party were insane, or that the population of the country was indeed a "swinish multitude," a brutalized and ignorant rabble. Can any other inference be drawn from the empty noise, the senseless exclamations, the pompous boasts, the multitudinous gatherings, the rolling of balls, and other fantastic exhibitions of modern whiggery, than that the leaders firmly believe what federalism in former times had the boldness to avow, that the great mass of mankind are a "swinish multitude;" and that an appeal to the senses, and the passions, to the eyes, and ears, and taste, is the only sure method of leading and controlling the community. The success of such an appeal would strongly tend to corroborate the maxim of kings and despots, that man is utterly incapable of self-government.

The invitation to bachanalian excesses which is offered by log cabin displays, and the "hard cider" watch word, will doubtless make serious inroads upon the public morals; and the friends of temperance will long deplore the fact so humiliating to our country that the self-styled whig party has deemed it expedient to put drunkenness in requisition as an auxiliary to their political advancement.

It has always been one of the arts of federalism to address itself most strongly to human cupidity, as though sordid interest alone was the controlling influence which actuates mankind. During Jefferson's administration foreign rapacity was defended, and he was falsely charged with producing the commercial embarrassments which existed. And while the country was afterwards struggling in a sanguinary conflict with a powerful enemy, the leaders of this party, regardless of the liberty and independence of the Republic, sighed aloud, in lugubrious tones, for "the *golden* days of commercial prosperity."

The same false charges are now made against the present administration of the general government, and the same tones are now loudly uttered with the variation only of a single word, occasioned by the modern whig discovery that gold is a "humbug," and "*paper*" is therefore substituted for "*golden*."

The great body of the people are probably better informed on every other subject connected with the public welfare than on the laws of trade which govern both domestic and foreign commercial intercourse; and also on the laws and functions of a circulating medium. And the aristocrat, the conservative, and the gambling speculator endeavor to profit by this lack of information, and to keep the community in the dark by boldly propagating the most preposterous dogmas. The laws to which allusion has been made are as fixed and certain in their operation as all the other laws which have been provided by the Creator.

The acquisition of knowledge, and the exercise of reason, will guide man in safety over the tempestuous fluctuations of human life. Who is there that could love and venerate a Deity, who, he believed had made the life of man an insolvable enigma, an inextricable labyrinth constantly enveloped in shadows, clouds and darkness, without any clue to direct his steps?

The merchant and man of business in conducting their pecuniary affairs, in ascertaining the amount of values, in estimating interest and regulating balances, rely with safety on the law of figures, and make this law their only guide. They would not for a moment depend upon conjecture, nor upon any hypothesis which the cupidity of others might propose. Should they be told by the interested that the fundamental rules of arithmetic were not to be relied on, that two and two did not always make four, the tax would be too great for their credulity. Their

knowledge of first principles, on this subject, puts deception at defiance.

And if they had carefully studied the laws of a circulating medium, and the principles which regulate commercial intercourse, they would be equally invulnerable to the gross misrepresentations with which the federal press has long teemed. The charges that the contractions, expansions, and revulsions, the fluctuation in prices, the wide spread demoralization, the vile spirit of gambling and speculation, the ruin of fortunes and the desolation of families which have formed a series of sad visitations within the last few years, have in the slightest measure been produced or augmented by the government, cannot make the least impression upon any one who has examined and who understands the laws under the action of which alone such visitations are created. If like causes produce like effects, a solution, on this subject, is readily found in distant countries, and in other times.

A knowledge of the history of Law's paper money bank in France, and of the revulsions which the paper system has frequently inflicted upon the people of England during the last seventy years, some of them contemporaneous with ours, will satisfy any reasoning individual of the true causes of our past and present commercial embarrassments. Whilst the power of contracting and expanding the standard of value, and consequently of augmenting and diminishing prices in the same degree, is confided to corporations which are interested in producing these derangements, they will always exist.

Ever since the creation of the first United States Bank, the federal party has been zealously devoted to its perpetuation. The enormous powers which such an institution concentrates over the pecuniary affairs and business concerns of the country—powers which are irresponsibly exercised in secret, and often to gratify the caprice or satiate the vengeance, or the cupidity of a single

individual, give it peculiar claims to aristocratic attachment. All the enormities of the late bank were defended and eulogised by federalism. It subsidized presses, and whenever it found men too weak or too wicked to adhere to honest principles, it "bought them like cattle in the market." But its history is notorious, and need not be repeated. Under its State charter which its president declared was more favorable to its prosperity than its former one, it has pursued such a course of speculation, oppression and fraud as strongly exemplifies the doctrine of total depravity; and it has finally sunk to such imbecility and degradation as to be an object of contempt rather than of terror.

The bank party, although partially silenced by the late trespasses and sins, and prostration of their former idol, are only waiting for the accession of power to fasten upon the community a similar institution.

They ardently desire a great and irresponsible "Regulator," connected with the government, holding in its custody the money of the people, and fraught with sufficient power to prostrate all opposition, and to control the price of the land and labor of the community; a paper-issuing machine, under the hollow pretence of regulating the issues of paper; an immense bank, to subdue and control the lesser ones. This is simply the principle of monarchy, carried directly into the banking system, and indirectly into the national government, and would be more destructive of public liberty than a connection of Church and State.

If they succeed in the coming national election, they will also plunge the government into the vortex of mis-called internal improvement, from which it was rescued by the firmness and patriotism of Andrew Jackson, in his veto to the Maysville Road Bill; and by which veto the extinguishment of the national debt, which took place shortly thereafter, was secured.

Their success will enable them to put in practice the primeval doctrines of federalism that the "turbulence of democracy" must be repressed by the strong arm of power; and also that "a national debt is a national blessing."

The specimen of federal rule which is now exhibited in this State, affords an admonitory lesson to every advocate of equal laws and free institutions. Independent of general profligacy and comprehensive extravagance, the violence and injustice of partial and vindictive legislation, has been adopted at the late session. The Registry Law is a naked act of physical power, wholly unsusceptible of disguise or apology. Its authors dared not make it general; and it is highly complimentary to the democrats of this city, that, in the narrow spirit of retail vengeance, it was exclusively directed against them. It was their union, efficiency, and victories,—it was their attachment to the unadulterated principles of the Author of the Declaration of Independence that called down upon their heads this special outpouring of aristocratic ire.—But neither the bitter persecutions of enemies, nor the traitorous abandonment of false and renegade friends, will shake their faith or impede their works.

The contest which approaches is fraught with principles, and involves results more momentous to the Republic than any other that has occurred since 1801. On the one side is arrayed the aristocratic spirit, with its pride, its wealth, and its hungering and thirsting for power.—To show its love for the "swinish multitude" it contributes liberally to erect rude structures, which, replenished with drink, and abounding with noise, riot and gluttony, more nearly resemble the pig-sties of the country than the quiet, primitive dwellings of its enterprising inhabitants. It believes that the mass of mankind are mentally imbecile; and it therefore proposes mental imbecility for their suffrages. It assumes that men can only be governed by their fears, and led by their senses; and hence the

renunciation of all reasoning, and the resort to naked and impudent assertion, to show, and parade, and noise, and mummerly. On no former occasion has federalism exhibited such an utter contempt for the public intelligence, and for the human understanding.

On the other side of the contest is arrayed that unconquerable spirit of democracy which in the revolutionary struggle achieved our Independence;—that spirit which successfully resisted the iron sway of federalism in the days of terror:—that spirit which carried the Republic in triumph through the second war of Independence;—that spirit which in periods of the greatest gloom and despondency has ever sustained the permanent interests and honor of the country;—that irrepressible spirit of freedom and of equal rights whose energies are ever most strongly exercised under the heaviest assaults of its enemies;—that spirit, in short, which indignantly repels the upstart pride of aristocracy and which perpetually and practically adopts as its polar star the self-evident truth that “all men are created equal.” And who can doubt the result in such a contest?

On this day, the anniversary of the birth of rational freedom, it surely cannot be inappropriate to recur to those sacred principles, by the maintainance of which alone, in their pristine purity, human liberty can be sustained and perpetuated. If ever the period arrives when these principles are adulterated or abandoned, the commemoration of this day will degenerate into the empty pomp, noise, and pageantry of a regal coronation; calculated merely to attract the vacant gaze of an ignorant multitude. But far, very far from us be the thought, that such is ever to be the destiny of this republic.

The human mind, long shrouded in darkness, and repressed in its energies by tyrannical government, struggled through countless ages and sanguinary vicissitudes before it obtained such a knowledge of first principles,

such an acquaintance with the laws of the Creator, as are indispensable to the temporal and social welfare of man. And this knowledge must be obliterated and the human race thrown back into barbarism, before the ever restless spirit of domination can permanently reinstate itself in power. Such an intellectual revolution is impossible. The mental philosophy of federalism that "matter governs mind" is destined to a signal rebuke. And the patriot may indulge not only the ardent aspiration, but the unshaken belief, that the principles of equal liberty *will* triumph.





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